/142 cont./

342 roof, beehive-like. The larger one was 15 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of the structure, which actually consisted mainly of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent. a number of the /142/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 The people led an idyllic existence. they carried on agri-

142 241 309 603

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

533 culture and mock-raising, went hunting, planted manduca
241 /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane.
193 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa.
309 Their average height was 1.65 meters. they were striking because
142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish,
241 clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open
151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up. the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/181 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Claus coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understood at least a few words of Portuguese.
648 They are on good terms with the Canoê, who, they said, call themselves Kayapho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

João and Joaquina.

648 The Bakairí manage /meek Bacairí/ how to authority. In their hearts they are the same people as the antigues.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days. Claus worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that appears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Cuzzo, too, 122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

/106 cont./

The cabin was familiar with only two forms of activity: he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled through roughly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were run furnished on the ranch. There was plenty of sugar cane; the cooked manduca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the gods; a piglet was slaughtered; a few chickens forfeited their lives; the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular volley of small shot, it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women were fresh, crisp "beijús," a simple baked product made of manduca

Antonio

Quirino

flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar: see the glossary, p.172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as refreshment: in a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour: see the glossary p.171 /, and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the calves were separated from their mothers: the herd was driven into the "curral" /corral: see glossary, p.170 /, and the calves were lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/105 cont./

526 for Pedro to hang on the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain it seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that is something to laugh about.

533 As soon as Andres set in, the music-making began. The [illegible] had learned in the colonies of Santa Cruz to carve [illegible] 534 guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm. They improvised short songs on poems of dogs, horses, the moon, a house, etc.. at evening they showed up with

142 291 342

Andrés

534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they had stolen them nearly on the latest.

They were large al small flutes, the mezzi and the kpanuarrh. The latterhas nothing special: it is made out of [524] bamboo, one might saybamboo-like. The mezzi, made out of vinhatico wood, is a litz over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper-secon there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far blow it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a row of smaller ones in the lower part.

533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/ 108 verso /

123 shake hands with each one, but they evidently did not know the purpose of this. When we put bracelets and earrings on them, however, they understood this immediately. The children had to have something too.

[124] Wilhelm was allowed to disturb Pena Jam behind the house, as yet I did not dare think about taking the measurements of the women, and then Ico knocked on the door.

122 Very unpleasant discussions about the condition of the supplies changed the entire situation.

On 18 June we had already reached an agreement with

Bakairí boy.

122 Castro to wait at most three more days for Tupy. In view of our uncertain /107/ future it was not to be justified if we did not use the favourable time of year better. The Bakairí figured five days more to the Paranatinga. another stop was necessary in the second aldeament. let Tupy follow us there. As far as the lost iron goods [501] were concerned, we had become less worried. Daniel had first called our attention to the bark canoes of the Bakairí. on the Rio Novo there was only a very small one that was being used as a trough. we were to see them on the Paranatinga; if we could make up our minds to make do with these bark canoes, we would need only a few tools, which perhaps could be obtained from a fazendeiro /see "Fazenda" in the glossary, p.171 / living near the Paranatinga. The advice was good.

Clown, Castro, and the monkey stayed on the veranda. The owner, for his part, rode to a *campados* / Cavalos / in the Gen. in the original source, p. 138 (translated p. 72) "*campados*" is translated as the Gen. *Cavalos*. the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 178 / eight leguas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Pommerenga. We could have sworn that we were in the Bergischen /a hilly countryside near the Rhine/ or Westphalia -- farm houses in front of the bush, the *queimada* like potato fields, -- in the gathering darkness we also began to indulge in fancies as a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

Captain Caetano "Idiota."

The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These cur, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with *guest room* or *guest stall*. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

Arawak

/137 cont./

[291] the process of being cleared. The pulley of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest [122] being cleared in order to lay out a plantation. Eagerly scanning, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

[292] /138/ "Bateé," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and triumphantly points to a few stumps, which give us the prospect of new provisions. "They have bateé," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[293] [294] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree -- the tube of [illegible], the wood from which the Impucado /Jempasal/ of the legend created the Bateé. We become more silent, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering much on shortly. Now and then small fires, alive or buried out. We have already been walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing Bacayuva palms -- a few kennels of maize on the ground, again as far of fires and "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

[295] [296] These houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes [297] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bateé. "Aguilne," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiquus -- the Indian answers in Bateé. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a padre," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/130 cont./

We were led into the smallest of the three huts. There we sat down on a long mat lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of green feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass mats, held up the three end. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

These Beheiff had never seen human beings of another color. They said that there were a few more settlements downstream. This was the last inclusive, the one we passed here -- great town -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north. It is called Tamaretsia. After 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Komure.

Then all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

We could not endure it much longer in the hut. Outside /136/ others appeared, including two women -- me, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily slipping about with flowing hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum, constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of yellowish black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen. It was cut in Russian style around a bowl, the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active there earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Beheiff.

Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted red, who was coming from hunting. He drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us. We called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

[illegible]

[illegible] Countless gourd vessels [illegible] see glossary, p. [illegible] and calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in designs not without taste.

In the lower roof-bodies are stuck the arrows, averaging two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of two and a half meters. The arrows, made of [illegible], have simple wood or bone points, at the end of the shaft broad feathers are set spirally.

Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail coverts, are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pig-nuts, bones, cane pincers, shells, and the like are kept in small baskets and sets. On the ends of the hammocks are found as decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This rather article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means of a plaiting of cotton threads. the hard sticks project beyond the lower cross-stick at the teeth of the comb.

The hammocks are quite can hardly say woven, but rather knotted. Two posts stand in the ground. they are wound with a skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on a chair. through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and knotted. the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed together) form the loop that receives the hammock rope.

A plaited matting above the door and sleeve of alternating black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense. The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind the ears, hangs down to the shoulders. the forehead is almost completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornament. Only the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes under her right arm. three trouser buttons, which she cut off from us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

/166 cont./

The triangular garment of the women, a knitted piece of bark bast, supposedly from the silkwild tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

The nasal septum of the men is not pierced. The beard hair, /165/ of a natural tendency for it to present, as well as all the hair among the women, was with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

Around 11:00 in the forenoon Cleon came with Antonio, a few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an extremely wrinkled official face and a fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

Clothing of the Bakairí women.

Penhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood, into one a notch is scraped, while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

We did some bartering. I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

These "wild" Bakairí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/148 cont./

other, the professor, seized, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our matches in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /149/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs. the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a palm. A human figure was incised in a tree, with anguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

After we had passed a rock and low shrub planting, we saw four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the plaza. a friendly "amchuk" (that is you) with raised hand welcomed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready.

Here we sat in long rows with our guns, and immediately the serving of manguu began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails, let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed. he was reaping honor with us.

A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

[illegible] cont.

I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks of the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, an art ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a hideous tone. He treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small hole. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long macaw feather.

Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman here, too, who /[illegible]/ kept the wife in order. She had curly hair. One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

The two large huts were round, the two small ones elliptically long, resembling stalls. In one of them, the festival hut, we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares, two large round /illustrious appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge burnt fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair, a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 160-162/.

/172 cont./

the most uncertain I am in observing the common freemen. The diamond has his face and half of his lower thigh painted red, like stockings. the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, curled stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the teeth of the puma-caribana (jaguar). The eyebrows, too, are painted more than usual with red. one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear. another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ burnt straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

The tonsure is shaved with a bone piece of spear grass. Its diameter is seven centimeters.

To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here. I interpreted their description and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed. smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder. they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

The women made excellent beijú. it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 59]

I: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Flute duet among the Bakairí.

/175/

080 Off at 9:00. Soundlessly with Valentin in the lead; occasionally a bird is aroused in the bushes. Doves coo, otherwise deep silence. The last morning mists heavy on the water.

133 From the shore a blue serra /sierra; see the glossary, p. 172/
361 visible in NW. At 10:00 we reached the harbor of Aldea IV.
Here we were already expected. It is the only one that lies on
the right shore, about three kilometers inland. -- A half-dozen
609 older people received us with their "am(b)ɨ" and accompanied
us along the way. They stopped often in order to make clear to
us, with many gestures of satisfaction, that they were Bakaïrí
and masters of the entire region. Mostly through meadow and
[361] campo along the edge of the forest. -- It was the largest village,
seven huts, and in the middle an open plaza. Twenty-four men
stood there in several groups, foremost a heavily blackened fellow
who swung bow and arrows wildly, beat on them clatteringly, and
shouted with a stentorian voice: "Bakaïrí, Kɨ̃ura Bakaïrí" (we,
the Bakaïrí). And the chorus joined in: "Kɨ̃ura Bakaïrí --
[624] Kustenaú... Trumaí hu-hu,"... other tribal names, incompre-
hensible words, triumphant gestures; finally the herald, with a
gesture of his hand, invited us to pass. Apparently they were
trying to make as forceful an impression as possible on us.

• 302 Only the hair of a few individuals was dyed red; otherwise
[301] they blackened their faces, chests, and legs. No one was dis-
tinguished by special finery; they wore their belt strings, arm and
leg bands of cotton or buritɨ bast.

[142] The skin color seemed to me a little darker than among the
other Bakaïrí, but I may have been misled by the black painting,
which did not show any particular designs anywhere, but rather
was manifested in a simple coating of the body. The spinal
column was left free, and likewise the parts from which the color
could rub off in sitting. Membrum virile parvum, praeputium
longum.

142 The epidermis of several individuals was thickened ichthyosis-
like and covered with hard, dry scales over the entire body. Many
had curly hair.

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

[262] Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third from the right), was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many
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[301]

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Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[122] Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kulisehu could scarcely
[142] have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception, perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[See P. 28--Analyst]

2: Steinen--28 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Plate V

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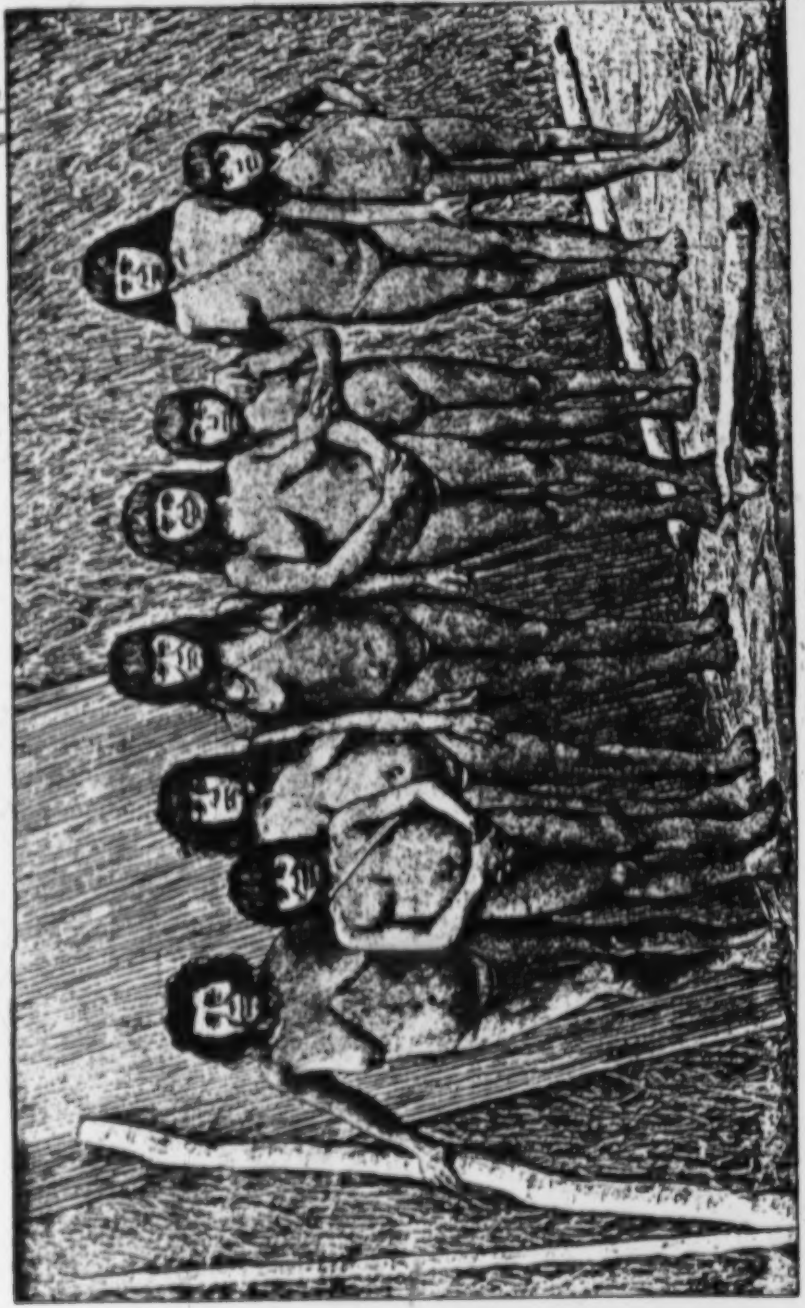

/85 cont./

000 brought three large fat barbados, which traveled to the grill and well deserved being eaten, even at the witching hour, in the scenery of the roaring waterfall gloriously illuminated by the moon.

122 On 2 October we set out at 6:30 and reached the Bakaïrí harbor at 2:15. Good Paleko was already standing there with a bowl of mandioca paste. Wilhelm and I immediately went to the
123 village. It was very entertaining /86/ to observe how one welcoming scene followed the other, since the canoes arrived at intervals; new guests, again and again new excitement, and a new rushing forth out of the flute-house, where we sat amidst beijús
302 and calabashes. Some of the people had adorned themselves festively with colored designs. Kulekule had decorated his face and upper body with orange-red lines and dots, my intended had red serpentine lines on her upper thighs, the Egyptian a red forehead and nose, Tumayaua's small grandchildren were daubed and smeared black, their mother Eva appeared with her hair and skin
301 powdered white from her beijú work. Good-natured Awiá wore a cake knife, that is, a beijú turner, in her hair in a curious fashion.

628 There were also foreign visitors present from Village II and
574 III; we counted 18 hammocks in Paleko's house and 13 in Tumayaua's
126 houses. Ehrenreich was taking photographs. For each shot the models were compensated with a few beads. They were somewhat afraid, but the beads conquered the fear of danger. The women's group on Plate 5 was obtained only with difficulty. The women had let themselves be positioned and arranged, and Ehrenreich was on the point of exposing the plate, when they suddenly discovered their mirrored images in the lens and, astonished, fell upon the apparatus in order to examine it more closely. The photographer in dire distress! Tumayaua had gained possession of a useless plate of glass -- "páru," water - and with it, following Vogel's directions, he set the first window in the straw dome of his house.

123 On this fine day I wanted to present a gift of honor to my hosts. Two young ladies of Berlin had given me a pretty blond doll to bring along, which they themselves had fitted out with a

[see p. 28--Analyst]

2: Steinen--138 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Pl. XIII

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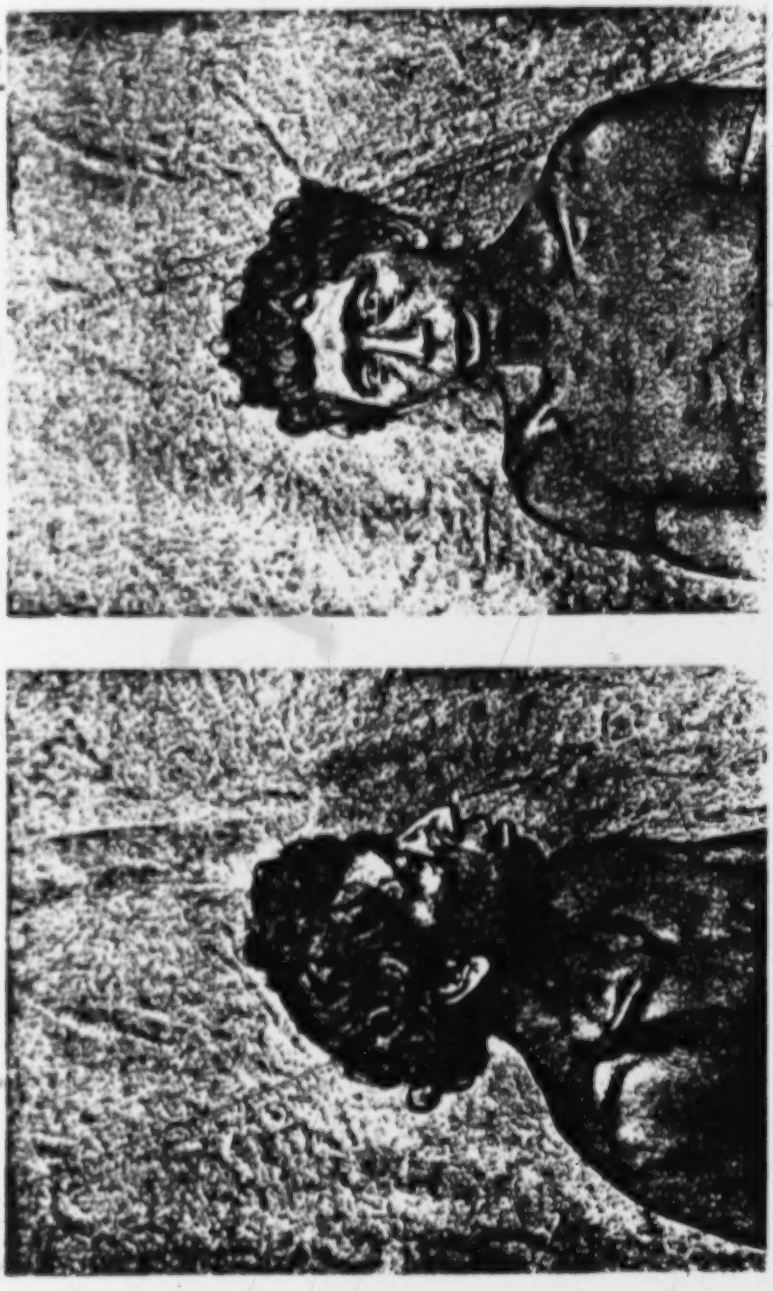

Bakairí "Izzy."

/171 cont./

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302 The lashes were plucked, especially among the Nahuquá until the last trace had disappeared. The same was true of the beard hair. We often, however, came across a moderate mustache or chin beard, occasionally even a cheek beard, mostly among the Kamayurá. Underarm and pubic hair was also plucked out.

B
142 The facial type of the individual tribes showed certain differences which are difficult to define. There is a Bakaïrí face which I would be confident about not confusing with a face of any other Kulisehu tribe, but which has the greatest similarity with the Karaiben of the Guianas. I would immediately take for a Bakaïrí a Karaiber Apiaká /Apiaca/ of the Tokantíns whom Ehrenreich photographed. Other Bakaïrí, however, could also belong to any of the other Kulisehu tribes on the basis of their physiognomy. The more Indians one became acquainted with, of course, the more uncertain one became. The Bakaïrí or Karaiben face that I am referring to almost has a European structure, the prognathism is slight, the forehead not high but well rounded, the nose has a somewhat wide bridge, pronounced alae, a rounded tip, wide upper lips, the eyes are beautifully almond-shaped and full. On the other hand, there is a second Bakaïrí type with strong prognathism, a markedly receding chin, low, sloping forehead, and a rather long nose with aquiline bridge, which we noticed particularly among the Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga. A peculiar specialty of the third Bakaïrí village was the distinct Jewish physiognomies. The photogravure Plate 13$\frac{1}{A}$/172/ shows us the best representative of this variety, who owed his name "Izzy" to our travel mood. Izzy was the smallest Bakaïrí, but very agile and strong and, as may be seen in the photograph, equipped with a powerful chest; he had black curly hair, a broad-bridged, aquiline nose, and would probably not be taken for an Indian by a naïve person. If there are people today, aside from the Mormons, who would have the children of Israel immigrating to America and being the tribal fathers of the redskins, they may take Izzy's picture as excellent documentary proof. Probably a few Egyptians also joined the caravan of lost tribes; at any rate, a few women in their hair style,
A^2 [See P. 138--Analyst]

2: Steinen--158 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/173 cont./

080 the grosser ones. The huntsman first adorned himself with the feathers of the captured birds before he picked flowers for himself. Before he shot birds in order to adorn himself with their feathers, however, he shot birds in order to eat them. From ancient times he has painted his naked body with colored loams. It is true, the pretty colors lie on the shore in nature and are stepped in day after day. But would it not more likely have struck the human being that the wet loam cooled his skin or that the mosquitoes no longer stung than that he observed how his foot had acquired beauty? I believe that /174/ at first he consciously daubed himself only because he was utilitarian enough to take advantage of such opportunities.

Some people, however, will not hear of such a beginning. They seem to be of the opinion that something to be despised is connected with the useful. Why, heaven only knows. I, too, believe that ornamentation arises from pleasure, that, like play and dance, it comes from an excess of tonic powers, but the things that are used for personal adornment were first known through their usefulness. We may also, as soon as people begin to adorn themselves, note two main trends. There is a type of vanity that is related to heroic deeds, the vanity of testimonies of bravura displayed before everyone, let us call it the vanity of the trophy and the scar, and there is the more subdued vanity that is content with the impression made by beautiful or even hideous colors, let us call it the vanity of cosmetics. Everywhere we can see among our Indians methods that serve useful purposes and those that serve for beautification employed together harmoniously, and we have every reason to assume that the former are the older.

*171 302 The hair. The hair style of the men is a calotte with tonsure. The hair is combed from the crown radially toward all sides, falls on the forehead in front, reaches on the side to the ear opening, and in back not quite to the start of the neck. Whereas the Suyá are in the habit of shearing the front part of the head bare and having the tonsure of Apostle Paul, the Kulisehu Indians all have the tonsure of Apostle Peter, a circular bald spot up to seven centimeters in diameter on the crown. When the

/174 cont./

*171 young Bakaïrí Luchu paraded around in Vogel's brown woolen,
• 302 waterproof poncho, he looked like a monastery pupil from "Ekkehard." It was believed that the Indians had borrowed the tonsure from the example of the padres, which would certainly be in keeping with their disposition, but the tonsure was in America before the Catholic priests. It was extraordinarily widespread among the primitive peoples of South America, and since the Portuguese called the shorn ones "Coroados," from coróa, crown, tonsure, wholly disparate tribes were confusingly considered with the same designation. Father Dobrizhoffer reports that among the Abipon of Paraguay the tonsure was regarded as a mark of the higher caste. There was no question of this among our tribes. Every
[881] boy received the tonsure at puberty, and Antonio told me that he had wept and was very rebellious when his father sheared the spot bald for him for the first time. The habit was described to me as an ancient custom of the grandfathers. People were not always very careful about shaving. Among older people in particular, the tonsure often had bristly hair growing over it; it was said, one bothers about it less "when one is old and father and mother are dead."

The vain young men among the Bakaïrí also knew how to provide themselves with a full head of curls by means of wooden curlers. Small pieces of cork-like wood, /175/ cut with a shell, covered the head; the tufts of hair that were to be curled lay clamped in the sticks. This beauty treatment, however, seemed to be practiced only rarely.

The women wore their hair on the forehead in the same manner, except a little fuller, but on the sides and in back it hung down loosely; over the back it usually reached to the tips of the shoulder blades. The ears were usually covered, and the hair falling down in back rested on the shoulders. Thus one may probably assume that the tonsure of the men is nothing more than a result of the distinction in the hair style customary for the two sexes. The man shortened his hair in the back and on the sides, the woman only over the forehead. The man, in order to facilitate

/175 cont./
the cut desired by him, went a step further and cut off at the roots a
* 171
● 302 part of the hair falling down in back and on the sides. The additional advantage connected with this was that, during combing, the hair could easily be evenly distributed on all sides. The tonsure of the Indians extended chiefly downward over the back of the head (cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 170/). The Suyá men, on the other hand, with their tonsure of Apostle Paul, went further in the removal of the hair falling over the forehead and, instead, wore their hair hanging down to their shoulders

[142]
[301]

Fig. 11. Bakairí girl.

in back or knotted up. Long back hair and the crown tonsure do not occur together. Copying the priests was not required for this simple procedure.

/176/ All the other body hair, with the exception of the eyebrows, was shaved or unhesitatingly plucked out. The lashes were not, as among the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, placed on a tucum thread and torn out all at once with a jerk, but were pulled out one by one at the earliest age of the children. The shaving of the tonsure was done with a tip of spear grass; these razor blades were kept planted near the house. The hair was cut with the teeth of the piranha fish. I never saw among

[824]
[142]
[237]

/176 cont./

I never saw among

*191 302 515 412 the men the reciprocal and daily delousing practiced so happily by the women. The comb, plaited out of pointed bamboo sticks, hung on the hammock. The hair was not excluded from the painting with urucú red; sometimes it dripped with the red oil and designs might even be applied: one Auetö who was in a festive mood had painted a stripe of urucú red two fingers wide along the lower edge of the calotte, while two stripes ran upward from the ears to the tonsure, so that Wilhelm, who was well-informed in matters of costume, was moved to compare it with a helmet of the early Middle Ages.

151 302 I often watched Tumayaua in particular when he plucked out his sparse beard hair. In the possession of a mirror, he could devote himself to this contemplative occupation with great concentration for hours at a time; he evidently did not feel any pain, but rather the enjoyment of an industrious man who loves his stimulating work. Accustomed to the procedure from childhood as a matter of course, he was scarcely acquainted with the more disagreeable part of the operation, the fear of it. The people are vain to a high degree, but it is improbable that the nerves of the Indians react more dully to begin with than ours, to judge from the behavior of children. The same man who, with an expression of only slight pain, scratched open his swollen skin with the scarifier to which I shall come back later, thinking that he would cure himself by this, cried out at the first unexpected feeling of pain when I held the burning-glass over his hand.

*191 302 Undoubtedly, with regard to the plucking of hair, we are dealing today with an old custom, with a fashion for which no one would any longer think of asking the reason, or, more probably, the reasons. People practice the custom, are used to it, and therefore find ugly the strangers who do not know about it. It has been remarked that the beard is plucked precisely by those peoples who are already sparsely provided with this adornment by nature, and it was not enough to say that it is easier in this case to pluck them out; rather it was believed that the sparsity as such looked ugly to the people. My long and thick beard, however, really seemed ugly to the women, and one or another of the Indian women, tugging at it with familiar aversion, gave me the

2: Steinen--162 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/176 cont./

* 171 well-meaning advice that I should pluck it out. The lashes re-
● 302 moved so radically would not by any means grow scantily, as is proved by the magnificent lashes of the "docile" Indians. /Pl. XIV appears here./ /177/ Moreover, the grooming of the beard was by far the most neglected, and thus the custom of removing the hair probably did not start with it.

Regarding the pubic hair, which only the Suyá men did not remove, whereas their absolutely naked women did, one can expect the rather coarsely naïve natives to regard its presence as particularly ugly. Yet it is scarcely satisfactory to assume that it is only man's innate pleasure in a smooth skin which has prompted the unclothed native to carry on such energetic destructive warfare against all body hair. There is no lack of reasons why it often seems annoying. People say that even insects which are not eaten as lice are get into the beard, underarm, and pubic hair and mat it down, just as in our case bees in particular became entangled there; people remember the tubercles and blisters on perspiring skin, which are doubly sensitive in hair, the uncleanness caused by blood and dirt, the convenience of attack for underbrush as well as for the pugnacity of one's fellow men, and thus they find many situations in which the body hair of a naked person may cause more annoyance than pleasure. On
[519] the other hand, the pastime and enjoyment which plucking the hair and working over the bodies with small implements provide people in lazy hours must also be given their due. Finally, it is
[82] perhaps not entirely irrelevant that hair and feathers are regarded
[811] as a sort of plant growth. The word for hair and feathers among
[192] the Bakaïrí, and probably also in other languages, was originally the same as forest, and the concepts are basically related, regardless of whether the vegetative was taken from the corporeal, or vice versa. Hair and plants grow; they are also cleared away, at least the short weeds.

I should like to put foremost, however, a simple motive operating daily. Just as skin and hair belong together, I am thinking, in association with the custom of plucking, of a connection with the other custom of body painting, of cosmetics, which Joest maintains is older than bathing. For the painting of

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

/177 cont./

*171 the body, with which we shall soon occupy ourselves in greater
●302 detail, the removal of hair is extremely advisable, because the
latter absorbs the color which is supposed to be rubbed into the
skin lying under it. Anyone who wants to paint a hide shaves it
[951] first. One main purpose of painting, the killing of insects, would
otherwise not be achieved. Furthermore, a very natural explana-
tion for the removal of pubic hair is found in the conflict between
it and the devices used here at the very time when it appears.
In particular manipulations with the hip cord among the men
would definitely be impeded. In short, a person who removes the
hair is better off and yet misses nothing. This alone is sufficient
to justify the custom. Plucking, clipping, and shaving are only
a question of thoroughness or technical means or consideration
for personal sensitivity. Less attention is given to the comb;
they would sooner cut and pluck their hair than use a comb.

/178/ Strangest of all, and certainly no pastime, is the
plucking of the lashes, because this operation, as one may call
it, is performed quite generally, even on small children of both
sexes, and cannot be explained on the basis of tribal or sex dif-
ferences.*

[BC]
[955]

*In the case of primitive peoples one far
too often attributes a thing to their desire
for physical hardening, but I never saw
children being hardened. The sir fathers,
not to speak of the mothers, were inclined
more to sentimentality than to strictness
toward their very self-willed offspring, who
could not cry without their parents being
bitterly hurt as well. They were definitely
[951] caused pain only when it was believed to
be for their own good; their health was
always a matter of extreme concern and
amulets were hung on them.

/178 cont./

#171 826 If the eye is the most valuable of all human organs, these forest dwellers in quest of animals and fruits are dependent on it to the highest degree imaginable. Never have I heard an Indian complain and whimper as did the chief of the Yaulapiti bemoaning his blindness. Yet in treatment they do not necessarily develop [159] the insight that seems proper to us. Since tobacco smoke is the best medical remedy, a badly inflamed conjunctiva is blown full of smoke as forcefully as possible. Thus the idea that the lashes protect the eye is quite foreign to the Indians. They maintain that the lashes hinder the eye in seeing, especially if they want to peer sharply into the distance. That they are anxious to care for [159] [411] the precious organ according to the best of their knowledge is shown by the fact that the area around the eye of the boy who is to become a skilled archer is scratched bloody with the scarifier -- naturally because they believe in this "medicine" and not because they want to harden him. In the case of the lashes in particular, [302] the seemingly cruel plucking, since it is radical, is nevertheless a relatively mild procedure. To endure the cutting and shaving on the edge of the lid with fish teeth and shells would indeed be heroic.

#171 302 304 The skin. The skin is pierced to receive ornaments, it is painted with color, and it is scratched with spines or teeth. The two last methods have developed into artistic treatment, into body painting or tattooing -- one would only like to know what original purposes lie behind them.

#171 301 If we observe, on the basis of thousands of examples, to what degree coquetry and vanity triumph over physical discomfort in matters crude and fine among our pampered, civilized human beings, we shall not be surprised that the vanity of primitive peoples is even more reckless. The chief difference between us and them is merely that they are obliged to do on the skin what we are able to do with clothing. Among them, however, it was everywhere first of all the man who adorned himself. He began doing so as a hunter, and since there is the matter of manifesting the hunter's virility, we may conclude that man first developed the idea of the trophy by not separating himself from the parts of the booty that were inedible, /179/ yet could easily be preserved and

/184 cont./

skill, and only then did sensuous pleasure come into its own.

I entered in my journal each instance of body painting and was able to observe that even today there are two types of body painting here. /185/ The one which occurs to us first, that of external adornment, was the more uncommon and had one characteristic that distinguished it rather definitely from the other. This characteristic was that a design, simple or elaborate, was part of the adornment. A distinction must be made between daubing and painting the body. In daubing the useful is the decisive factor; in design painting, the beautiful. The love of color is present in both cases, but secondary. Even the effect of urucú red is overestimated by us. If it had been so esteemed generally, all tribes could have used it. A person who lives with the truly gaudy adornment of the parrots is supposed to regard himself as particularly beautiful if he daubs himself with soot or even brick-red! Let us pause in front of the magnificent feather ornaments of tropical South America in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde and confidently compare with these the most beautiful and the most colorful things that our modern technology, which has certainly accomplished no little, is able to conjure up -- nature can still stand up under the comparison, and surely its feather splendor surpasses the modest black-white-red which charcoal, loam, and the orlean bush provide for the Indian.

The Indians never use white for body painting! I already hear the answer: "he finds white not becoming to him." There is probably something in this. He valued our white beads less than the red ones; he preferred the blue ones to both, for they contrasted best with his skin. One could retort, to be sure, that he made these distinctions merely at a glance and before he saw the beads on his body, but it may be that he liked red better than white and blue better than all the rest, not because he preferred the, to him, more unusual colors, but purely as a matter of taste. But this still does not explain why he avoided white altogether; one would only understand why he used it

/185 cont./

171 more sparingly and could not by any means conceive why he
302 did not use it merely to bring out the other colors better. He
822 wears feather caps, which look most charming, of pure white with a few, small yellow-red feathers in between.

171 The chalky, fine-grained clay is not suitable for the
302 design-painting of the body. If it were mixed, like charcoal,
336 with the yellowish oil, it could likewise be applied in lines, but the white color would be lost. Mixed with water, however, the lines would be very impermanent and mostly fall off when dry. On the masks, white furnishes only the background or appears in wide stripes on the most artless ones. On the other hand, if the native used his pigment for body adornment primarily for the sake of the color effect, nothing would prevent him from beautifying himself with white also, by powdering himself over large areas with the clay. Thus the thighs of the string-twisting women are chalk-white; moreover, the fine, flour-dust, with which the women who bake beiju are often covered white, would be available to him. But neither the white baker-woman nor the Indian daubed red or black over large areas /186/ has dressed himself up this way in order to adorn himself. This is everyday clothing, not Sunday attire.

171 The question thus is: of what use is the daubing? As is
302 well known, and as I know very well from my long experience
751 of going barefoot, the mud has a cooling effect; it is extremely pleasant in the heat to keep the skin moist. In particular it cools stung spots, and it protects the ones stung from the mosquitoes, whether it be red, yellow, black, or white. I cannot believe that whenever a person waded through the mud of the shore, he seemed particularly adorned because of it: it may be different on other soil, where the earth colors are more unusual. In our territory, at any rate, the agreeableness for the skin takes precedence over that for the eye. The Indian has replaced the mud with oil, but a finely powdered addition is said to make it more consistent and sticky, and this addition is a
822 pigment, soot and urucú red. Undoubtedly the Bakairí like the red better, since they did not have to tend and cultivate the plant if the soot were just as pretty, and within these limits one adorns himself also by daubing himself.

/186 cont./

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one adorns himself also by daubing himself. The native daubs himself with oil paint, either black or red, in order to keep the skin agreeably soft in the heat and so that the mosquitoes and stinging flies that alight on his body stick to it and perish. He does not set out for the hunt until his loving spouse has smeared him, especially on chest and back, with oil paint; he takes with him in the canoe, as we saw in the case of our companions, the small oil-calabash, in order to renew the coating on the way, and in the morning he and his companions perform this service of love for each other. After a day of rowing, such a back is dotted with countless small black cadavers which are quickly removed by a bath in the river. Among the Mehinakú I also saw a number of women blackened with dry charcoal all over their bodies, who were busily going about their ordinary tasks and, to all appearances, had not in any way thought of dressing up. Unfortunately, however, I do not know for what purpose they had rubbed themselves and only suspect that some kind of hygienic measures were involved.

Now, I should not like to maintain that daubing and design-painting are sharply separated. It is the same as with clothing. It is worn differently for work and for festivities. If clothing were decoratively created, with better materials, brighter colors, a special cut, I should not like to conclude from that that it was fundamentally only adornment. Oil color is actually the clothing of the Indian, as he requires it: its real and oldest purpose is protection, not against cold, but against warmth, against chapping and certain kinds of external assaults. He has only one form of clothing which he can do without better than we can that of ours, which also does not have the secondary characteristic of concealing, like that of ours, and he has therefore not arrived at the feeling of modesty that we have. Just as our clothing /187/ is altered out of considerations of adornment, so his oil color and in earlier times, I imagine, his mud. Just as some people more than others are affected even in their everyday clothing, by the consideration of a more attractive outward appearance, so also does an Indian fop, like

/187 cont./

*171 ●302 751 the Bakaïrí Luchu, in a pleasant idle hour, treat himself to a serpentine line with dots beside it on his thigh, and just as plainer people among us dress only modestly even on Sunday, so an Indian of more unassuming temperament is content to permit himself for the celebration of a joyful event merely a painting of the forehead and nose or of the calves, instead of a linear design. By and large, however, I find it clearly evident that daubing is done for utilitarian purposes and one decorates himself with designs for beautification purposes, and I conclude from this that cosmetics were not adornment at first. And this is all the [822] more to be maintained inasmuch as to this day only secondary value is put on the color of their coloring materials, since they scorn white altogether, make no particular distinction between red and black, and since they have disproportionately more [192] beautiful colors at their disposal in their feather ornaments. The development of color words, as we shall see, also speaks in favor of this view.

I need scarcely point out that among the purposes of daubing regarded as useful the medicinal ones were not lacking and encouraged the custom. I shall cite a specific and very common case presently in connection with the scarifier. When Moritona, the great medicine man of the Yaulapiti, smeared the remainder of our pea soup over a broad area of his chest, the motive of delight in color probably played only a minor part.

*171 302 The designs were of different kinds. Simple finger strokes, bold stripes, for example, from eye to ear, or the beautifying of the same Moritona: a black stripe from the nose to the navel, stripes that followed the contours of the shoulder blades, dots on chest and arms, wavy lines along the thighs, dotted arcs across the chest, a zigzag down the back and legs, [619] and the like. In part there was involved in this a bold outlining or intersection of the anatomical contours, in part imitation animal skin-design, but everything was the choice of the individual person and there were no tribal designs. The conspicuous painting of individual parts of the body, for instance, forehead and nose, may be regarded as a transition to the ordinary broader

/187 cont./

*171 daubing. The cotton bands wound the upper arm or lower leg
●302 offered a not unpopular motif. One day I saw on the Bakaïrí Kulekule, who was an enthusiastic admirer of mine, a black horseshoe-like arc below either nipple, and when I jokingly asked him what it was, to my surprise he pointed to my boots, which impressed him very much: he had painted the heels on himself. A veritable work of art was displayed by a young Auetó who was solemnly decked out for the journey with us to Cuyabá -- his father ordered him to accompany us --, but who left us already among /188/ the Mehinakú, in spite of a pot of flour that had been given to take along as provisions. The mereschu lozenge-pattern, which I shall subsequently discuss in greater detail, covered his chest and sides down to the middle of the calves, in contrast to which the lower half of his face and the sides of his neck from the ear to the collarbone stood out with a coating of pure, deep black. Otherwise it was primarily on the festive occasion of a reception or, as among the Nahuquá, for the dance that people decorated themselves with designs. In everyday life there was practically nothing to be seen, just as little as of feather ornaments. When I appeared with my traveling companions from Independencia, almost all of the Bakaïrí of the first village, including the women, received us in a painted state. the smaller grandsons of Tumayaua had been carefully smeared over their whole bodies, and Tumayaua told me specifically that we were supposed to see how pleased the women were.

*171 Scratch-scars. Scratching the skin is a sort of panacea.
304 It is used on young and old and in the same way among all the tribes. With the /Fig. 15 appears here/ scarifier, a triangular
[237] piece of gourd shell set with a row of small, pointed teeth of fish
[324] (trahira) or claws of rodents (agutí), the skin is scratched, allowed to bleed for a while, which is helped by stroking with a bone, and is then rubbed either with yellow loam or with soot or the juice of a fruit (natunsán among the Auetö). One sees the scratch-scars everywhere, especially on the arms. Actual

/191 cont./

128 only their natural skin and no artificial fabric cover over their bodies, we must ask ourselves first of all whether the skin, in its relation to an external world to which it is directly exposed, can be affected by the changes of sexual life, and we must in any case approach this subject with clinical frankness and not with the idea of a civilized human being who is suddenly required to undress. Let us begin with a survey of the various methods used among the individual tribes for the treatment of the partes pudendae from the time of maturity on, and only from this time on. They do not at any point apply to children.

171 29 [302] Among the Kulisehu tribes, with the exception of the Trumaí, the men do not show anything very special at first glance. The pubic hair is plucked; they wear only a belt-cord in the form of a cotton string on which are occasionally strung small pieces of stalks or bored seed kernels or tiny pieces of snail shell, but usually in such a way that the greater part of the string is left free. One might examine the photographs, for example, Plate 14 / see p. 163/: one finds the hip cord, without exception, on every man. Often, instead of the string, there is a hank of cotton, as in the case of one of the Nahuquá, page 71, or in the picture of the Bakaïrí Luchu, Plate 6 /see

*The Nahuquá on the left lacks a hip cord because it came into our possession shortly before the picture was taken.

p. 40/. It was in the case of this particular youth, who had reached maturity a short while before and had not yet finished removing his pubic hair, that I learned about the purpose of the hip cord, which is of interest to us here. Up until then I had regarded it, along with the hank of cotton, as a carrying cord, often provided with decoration, for people who have no pockets, or as a supply of binding material that was always at hand, but in fact light tools, such as shells and fish teeth or the comb or knives given by us, were worn, not on the hip cord, but on the chest or back on a string around the neck. Also, the very

BO /193 cont./
291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
283 a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
*171 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
291 praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it in palm straw.

B 302 As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
30 and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
291 ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
291 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
287 only within the most modest limits and surely could not have been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
291 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
287 fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
841 to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
287 tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body. See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

B /198 cont./
*171 a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in
291 the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible
841 the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a
T support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by
171 means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy
291 triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted
841 the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of
blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or
similar loose hangings.

B
142
291
302
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Fig. 19. Squatting Bakaïrí.

000 similar loose hangings.

B In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here,
*171 too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a
291 causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed
834 that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to
the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately,
I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I
saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices

/209 cont./

*171 24 245 Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "waurarú" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less frequently found near the village. Then, however, plants which *171 249 they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the [302] [824] [248] village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves, the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role. [276] Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Auetó and was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí ooo village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

114 276 [113]

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/210 cont./

114 276 [177] Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

*171 276 757 773 It plays an important part in medical treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the

*171 249 [248] [302] Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work; the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 241 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú; their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijaõ de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 174 241 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

n² [i.e., The Tobacco -- Analyst]

B
/252 cont./
*171 enormous ear flaps, like my Island of Zanzibar. And after I
532 heard from a high-ranking German official that Brazil and Rio
BO de Janeiro are located on the west side of the continent, on the
171 Pacific Ocean, I am perfectly content to have the Bakaïrí, cf.
532 Kulisehu plate I, put the mustaches of Herren Ehrenreich and
Perrot on top of their heads. In these two instances the mustache
B was put in afterwards. The Indians themselves pluck out all the
BO beard hair, and no matter where the beard hair is located, they
[302] differentiate hanging and transverse beard-hair according to their
first impression, without giving a more accurate account; they
reproduce the former, if they do not draw the hairs separately in
great numbers (cf. Bororó I and the Nahuquá drawing, Kulisehu II),
by a curved line open at the top, the latter by a curved line open
at the bottom. They concern themselves with the "where" only
for the grossest topography; the beard is indeed connected with
the head and face, and the only thing that matters to them is to show
the feature itself. If they take it into their heads to draw the
anus, they put it, too, in front, although in this case they must
know from experience, which they lack in the case of the beard,
that it belongs elsewhere.

What is missing, what is there, it all depends on interest.
The head, the beard, the sexualia are drawn with a will -- let
the rest appear wherever it may or be absent altogether. Is not
the greatest master of portraiture and the most gifted characterizer
of physiognomy accused of neglecting the hands? Opposites at-
tract, Franz Lenbach and the Kulisehu Indians are contemporaries.
If the latter or the Bororó take pencil in hand, they give a more
or less complete account: their enumeration of the body parts, and
whatever interests them, is emphasized, anything that leaves them
indifferent at the moment is treated negligently or left out. In
the case of animals, the outlines are important; not one of those
drawn for us had eyes, with the exception of the fish drawn in the
sand, cf. Figs. 34 and 35 /see p. 262/; in the latter case they
are probably more likely to come to it because the head, set off
only by the gill arch, does not seem sufficiently characterized.
The Nahuquá, Kulisehu I, gives the jaguar a lurking position with

775 /251 cont./
first and foremost jatobá /Hymnenaea/, then copaiba, the white or yellow trumpetbush /peúva de flôres brancas ou amarellas/, the vinhatico, the pindahiba /Xylopia/, etc. Knowing this, the first concern of the curer (piahi) called to treat the sick is to extract the sliver of wood that causes the discomfort, which is achieved by sucking on the patient.

764 Sometimes, in spite of the treatment, the latter dies.
775 Then the dead man is painted with urucú (anoto); there are
[302] put in his ears and nostrils the feathers that adorned them in
[301] life; his belongings (icehiko) are gathered up, such as bow, arrows, etc., which are deposited along with their owner /252/ in the hole that will serve as grave, well covered with earth stamped down with the feet. In the afternoon the shadow rises in the guise of the curiangu (Pokurãu, Caprimulgus) and comes to drink mingáu, which was placed at the grave, on the spot that corresponds to the head. After a while it no longer returns.

775 The Bacaeris also speak of kχadopa, which is equivalent to our hobgoblins or lost souls and, it would seem, are the shadows of those who died a violent death. The following passage describes most clearly what is said concerning these beings.

Kχadopa goes wandering in the afternoon, says the piahi; it is all bone; it has holes for eyes; it wanders through the forest; manioc is its food; it wanders in the cultivated clearings; caterpillars, bicho de pau /"wood insect"/ and ants are its food; it comes to the house to drink mingáu (poχu); take the food of the kχadopa outside, take beiju /manioc cakes/ and pirão /boiled manioc flour/ (pakχa); at night, in order to sleep, burn rubber, rub it on the door, on the door bar (anaχu, "nose"); the kχadopa does not come in, the rubber stinks and
[533] he does not like the smell. Take his food to the grave; if you do not intone the song (erému) of the kχadopa, he does

/257 cont./

539 825 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamüras.

539 174 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamüras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before [229 352 501 412 532] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they probably had maracá before they had the masks with which they appear at their festivals.

539 776 We also see that although theoretically the abode of the Yamüra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 789 824 ● 302 Yamüra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamüra goes into the houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamüra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/258 cont./

776 and goes to the river, Yamüra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamüra run far /259/ away; Yamüra is very
• 302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamüra does not like it, says the piahi.

796 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his ferramenta /iron tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamüra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacaeri
[784] would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose injury is punished immediately, for example, the Sucuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Topiéhi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamüra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo.
[782] It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
[796] use; otherwise antas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings,
[532] destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamüra it is necessary to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

825 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
796 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
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If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piahi; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/28 cont./

178 in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass
535 beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with
291 urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases
302 of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and
754 shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

114 In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

113 36. Hintermann, Heinrich, Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen /Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/, Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Ronuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the
166 Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Coroado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

113 37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

4:Schmidt--62 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate IV

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Fig. 4. House of the Bakairí. Pires, cacique of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 5. Cacique Pires with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--64 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VI

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Fig. 8. The old Bakairí, Luju, from Maigeri aldea, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 9. The Bakairí, Joaquim Carpintero, in Simões Lope

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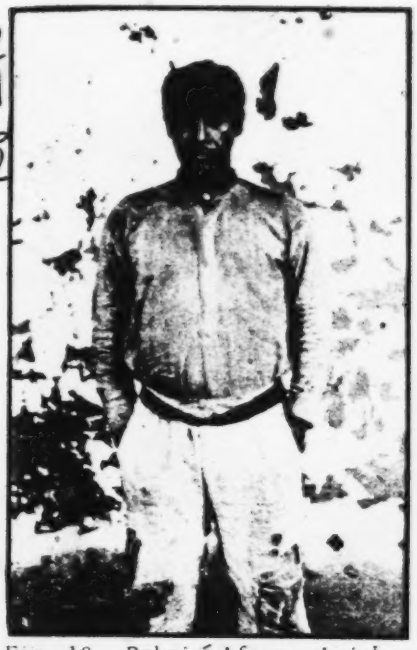

Fig. 10. Bakairí Afonso, Luju's son, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 11. Bakairí Hieronymo, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 12. Cacique Roberto, from the Rio Novo, with his family, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--66 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VIII

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Fig. 13. Bakairí, son of the Xinguano Kapinage, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 14. The author with Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Paranatinga.

4:Schmidt--67 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Fig. 15. Xinguano Patagude with his son Ka'iura, in Cuiabá.

Fig. 16. Xinguano Ka'iura.

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Fig. 17. Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Rio Paranatinga.

4:Schmidt--68 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SPT Bacairi SPT

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Fig. 18. Xinguano Kapinage. in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 19. Paranatinga Xinguano boy.

Fig. 20. Rio Paranatinga Xinguanos.

352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

494 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and 226 depended upon fish for a considerable part of 501 their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) 396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The [424] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. 501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the [171] predominant type among the Indians of the 415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large [824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling 352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the 241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. 411 For hunting, they used a bow (*náku*), round or 824 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*pirú*) were made from [237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no 412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 409 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, [171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onagís*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ululrí. ● 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over [412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made [837] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

302 412 and was combed with a comb (*aekáji*) made by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.

301 237 Although clothing, in the strict sense of the term, was nonexistent, the Bacairí used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *orógo*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *orógo* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow weaver bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *orógo* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used, for some were seen in the village of Simão Lopes.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *megesáwa* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *ikwilléno* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *ikwilléno* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *megesáwa*. The *sawalápi* was a necklace [124] made from black disks of tucum palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *dodojéri*. The Bacairí still use the *megesáwa*, *ikwilléno*, and the *sawalápi*.

Besides necklaces, the Bacairí used a variety of other ornaments. The *upawí* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the [125] biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle, with similar bands worn below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Bacairí arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *pei* was a feather ear ornament made from red toucan and yellow parrot feathers [304] suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened rhea feather. The *tajikaino*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the *péiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *péiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *mukúsa* vine. The *péiko* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *péiko* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairi did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairi kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairi diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairi cultivated bitter manioc, *épa*; sweet manioc, *tsiséi*;

Y 302 105 171 During the trip, at various times, a number of men were seen that were covered completely with soot. However, it could not be ascertained for what reason this was done. By my Bakairi, several explanations were given: that the man had been working in clearing the fields, or that he had partaken in some ceremony and the soot had not as yet worn off, or that he had put it on for caprice.

The women often covered the forehead and the face down to the cheekbones with a thick layer of urucum. The children also were often so painted. This seemed to be purely for aesthetic reasons. The men never did it, and it was practiced more often by the young women. It was evidently done with a great deal of pride and pleasure, the mothers finding especial delight in painting the children in that manner every morning.

B 302 751 177 One of my Bakairi, whose original home had been on the Rio Novo, one morning appeared with the identical facial painting, but instead of using urucum, he had used soot. On my inquiring about it, he said he had done it to protect his eyes from the glare, but on being pressed he gave me the impression that there were other reasons. The anxiety of the Bakairi to appear devoid of practices which are not European undoubtedly prevented getting the real reason. Soon after our conversation he wiped it off.

W 302 532 304 The Mehinaku and Yawalapiti women bore three painted parallel lines on the wrists, on the forearms, and on the cheek. One of them was actually tattooed in this manner. One Mehinaku living with the Naravute bore painted geometric designs on the legs, too indistinct, however, to reproduce.

Y 302 105 171 There is no doubt that body painting for decoration is practiced widely and whenever the mood comes upon the woman. In the case of the men, they bear no painting other than the ordinary urucum protective coating except when they take part in some ceremony. The paint is not washed off afterwards, but remains on the body until it wears off.

The universal style of wearing the hair among the men is to cut it evenly around the head, following a line a little above the eyebrows. In addition, the crown is shaven. This latter practice, like the wearing of the waistband, is abandoned by the old men sometimes.

The women cut the hair across the forehead, but let the rest grow long and wear it loose.